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A
SECOND SERIES

O F

Facts *and* Arguments;

Tending to prove,

That the ABILITIES of the Two
B-----rs, are not more extraordinary
than their VIRTUES.

I N A

L E T T E R

T O A

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT.

By the AUTHOR of an Examination of the
Principles, &c.

-----*Prosperum ac fœlix Scelus*

Virtus vocatur.-----

SENECA.

L O N D O N.

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A
SECOND SERIES

O F

Facts *and* Arguments, &c.

S I R,

I Must own, the World has now and then produced a beautiful Monster; I mean a *Cæsar*, or a *Cromwell*: Men whose surpassing Genius, invincible Spirit, and unparallel'd Success, threw such a Lustre on their Vices and Enormities, as confounded the Judgment of Mankind, and misled them to pay that Devotion to Ambition and Rapine, which was only due to Philanthropy and Virtue.

But, in spite of the Prevalence of Folly and Servility, which in every Country, and in every Age, has disgrac'd the Image of *God*, upright as it was form'd, with a Mixture of the Reptile, there have ever been a few, who, standing forth on the Behalf of human Nature, have not only enter'd their *Protests* against this dangerous and destructive Species of Idolatry, but have been at the Pains to prove, that the more Genius, the more Power, and the more Success fell to the Share of these splendid Usurpers, the more guilty they became, and the more infamous they ought to be held.

Supposing, however, that, in Compliance with the Depravity we are surrounded with, we should
look

look on the Man of Scruples, as more an Object of Compassion, than of Admiration, and should beat up for a *Cromwell*, or a *Cæsar*, with all his Faults and Imperfections upon his Head, where should we find such a Master-Spirit, as had Capacity and Resolution enough to give the World a Bias of his own, and to extort a Confession from his very Enemies, That he had acted greatly, if not rightly; and that if any Man had a Commission to enslave his Fellow-Creatures, it was He?

Do you think, that any Thing contained in the Tract I lately sent you, concerning the *Principles* and *Conduct* of the Two B-----rs, would direct any sensible *Englishman* to either of them? or even to Both of them, if it could be proved ever so undeniably, that one Spirit liv'd in Both; that their Passions and Pursuits center'd in one and the same Point, and that their united Qualities and Abilities were under the Direction of one and the same Impulse?

In what Light do they appear *there*, but that of a Brace of Petti-foggers in Partnership, who having been entrusted with a Cause, and procur'd the Writings to be lodg'd in their Hands, by dint of the very Importance they deriv'd from that Trust, the Quirks of Practice, and a total Contempt of Principle and Reputation, laid their Client under a Necessity of continuing his Suit in their Hands (tho' Term after Term produc'd nothing but Defeat upon Defeat, Disgrace upon Disgrace, almost to the utter Ruin both of him and his Family) for fear they should declare for the Plaintiff, and put an End to the Process, by marring the Cause?

And

And yet this is the Figure they are vain of: This the Conduct which they fancy has dubb'd them such consummate Politicians. These are the *Cromwells* and *Cæsars* of our Times; and who, for the sake of being so reputed, seem willing to have the world conclude, That they have subdued every one of these Weaknesses, which goes to the Composition of an *honest Man*.

But 'tis my Purpose, in the Course of the ensuing Sheets, to shew from a new Series of Facts, which ought to have been interwove with the last, if an Over-redundance of Matter had not crowded them out of their Place, That the Successes which they fancy redound so much to their Honour, arose rather from their Wickedness than their Wisdom, from their Connections than their Refinements, from the Depravity of the Times, than the Superiority of their Genius: That they were of such a Nature, as would have disgrac'd the Consulship of *Caligula's* Horse: And that in case they were all such Master-pieces of Policy, as they desire to have them thought, they ought to take Shame to themselves, when they reflect, (as, harden'd as they are, they sometimes must do) That the Price of them was the Ruin of their Country.

And that we may take our Departure, according to the Seaman's Phrase, from a Promontory sufficiently eminent in the Charts which already ly before us, we must set out with the Conferences of *Hannu*; of which, however, so much the less need be said, because so many new and extraordinary Lights have already been thrown upon that Affair, in a late masterly Piece, called,

An

An occasional Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in Town.

In my former Address to you, I barely touch'd on this Topic, for the sake of Dispatch; and every Body must remember, That, when it was first made public, the Creatures of the Two B-----s were instructed to promulgate in all Companies, That the Whole ought to be esteem'd a Bundle of Forgeries, because the Sketch, therein given of their Conduct in that Affair, was *One*.

But if that Criterion was now to be turn'd upon them, it would follow, That there is not one Forgery in the Whole, because the Instance given turns out to be a most notorious Truth. Their Advocates, *without Doors*, have admitted, That the Propositions made by the late Emperor at that Place, and transferr'd to the *Brotherhood* by L--- G---, were *rejected by them*: And, *within*, They themselves have observed such a Conduct, as amounts to a Confession of all that was laid to their Charge.

If it had been possible for them to purge themselves, why did not they embrace the Opportunity which their Adversaries gave them, by calling for the *Papers, &c.* which had pass'd between the Two S-----s on that Occasion? Why, on the contrary, did they avail themselves of that miserable Subterfuge, which the Word *Treaty* happen'd to furnish them with; by denying that there had been a Treaty, because the Draught had never been sign'd? Why did one of them manifest such Terror and Dismay through the whole Course of the Debate? Why did he endeavour to acquit himself of all Concern in the Transaction, by suggesting he was not a C---b---t

C-----r

C-----r at that Time, in hope it would not be recollected, that he was one of the L----- J-----s? What rational Answer can they give to the Two Questions put to them by the noble Heir of a certain most noble Family? Namely, If the Propositions made by the Emperor were of a salutary Tendency, why were they not accepted? If not, why do the Parties concern'd avoid doing Justice to themselves, by communicating them to P-----? And, what Excuse can be made for those Four L----- J-----s, who took upon them to reject a Measure that belong'd to the Decision of ALL?

But, not to leave your Imagination afloat, it appears by a Recital of the whole Negotiation, which was made public by the *Imperial Court*; when all Hope of an Accommodation was at an End. 1st. That L----- G----- rejected the said Propositions in the *Name* of the L-----ds J-----s. And; 2dly. That, even after the said Rejection had been notify'd, his Imperial Majesty renew'd his Sollicitations; offer'd, as before, to renounce all Pretensions to the *Austrian* Succession, to consent to the assembling a neutral Army in the Empire, to augment that Army with 15,000 of his own Troops, to relinquish *Philipsburgh* and *Fort-Kehl* to the Troops of *Swabia*; and, in one Word, to accept any Terms, which the Maritime Powers should think fit to prescribe; on the single Condition of obtaining a Restitution of his Hereditary Dominions, even with the mortifying Restriction of leaving all the fortify'd Towns, in the Possession of neutral Troops.

Thus then we have it sufficiently confirm'd, That, if Peace was the only fit Measure for
English

English Ministers to pursue, they thought fit to reject the most favourable Opportunity of obtaining it, that *England* in their Time was ever like to be blessed with; and thereby forc'd their Rival to have Recourse to such *other Measures*, as would contribute most to a vigorous Prosecution of the War: In which they did, by the Power of the Nation, as others have done by the Cash and Credit of it, when committed to their Management; apply'd it to their own Use, instead of applying it to the Use of the Public. And if there is any Merit in daring to do what Men of Integrity dare not think of, I have no Objection to the leaving them in Possession of it.

The Convention of *Worms* was the first of those *other Measures*, which L-----G-----was now compell'd to negotiate; and which, because of their late Conduct with respect to the *Hanau* Propositions, the Two B-----rs did not think it advisable to over-rule: But, when at the Instance of the Queen of *Hungary*, he proceeded to sign a like Convention with her, by which it was stipulated, That her Majesty should be furnish'd with an annual Subsidy during the Continuance of the War, to be paid in *November*, instead of *February*, They made bold to lay aside the Mask, and not only refus'd to ratify it, but also persisted in that Refusal, after his -----'s Return; and, upon dividing the C-----b-----t, made it appear, That they had already found Means to establish a better Interest in it than He: For, out of Fourteen or Fifteen Lords present, only Five appear'd on his -----'s Side: And all the rest held up the Train of the Two B-----rs.

But

But as well as to relate the Fact, it may be necessary to throw in a few Remarks upon it.

The Reflections of the E—— of G—— on the Conduct of the Two B——rs, in relation to the *Hanau* Project, it may be suppos'd, had convinc'd his L——p of the Necessity of guarding as much as possible against the like Confusion of Councils and Measures for the Time to come; and of *obliging* them, since they had made War their *Choice*, to conduct it steddily and consistently, in order to a happy Issue.

And it may be farther suppos'd, That his L——p, on calculating the probable Operations of that War, was mov'd by similar Reasons to lay down such a Plan, as might make sure of the Queen of *Hungary* to the End of it. Obligations he knew, might be so conferr'd, as to lose their Nature: And Gratitude was, of all Principles, the feeblest in the C——b——ts of Princes. Probably he had observ'd, That the compelling her first to compound her Quarrel with *Prussia*, by the Sacrifice of *Silesia*, and then to purchase the Assistance of the King of *Sardinia*, with a Part of the *Milanese*, (by which the *Indivisibility* of the *Austrian* Inheritance, so carefully provided for, in the *first Place*, by the *Pragmatic Sanction*, was so essentially violated) had already induc'd her to think, That the Subsidies she receiv'd from *England*, were but the Price of those Concessions; and consequently not to be call'd Obligations.

Probably he had his Reasons to apprehend, That, in case we proceeded to compel her to part with a Limb, as often as we open'd a Vein, she might be induc'd at last, to think it altogether

as reasonable to purchase the Mercy, if not the Friendship of *France*, by a Peace-Offering on the Side of *Flanders*, and by leaving us singly to wrestle with that mighty Enemy.

Probably he had already discover'd, That, as nothing but the Pressures of the Times could have induc'd her to contribute to the aggrandising his *Sardinian* Majesty, so nothing could reconcile her to what she had been oblig'd to do, but the putting her Subsidy on the same Footing, as to *Certainty*, with his.

And probably he was so much the more easily persuaded to gratify her Majesty in this Point, because the Expence to *England* would be the same to a Shilling, one Way as the other; because of the apparent Necessity of making the Payments in *November*; and because he foresaw, that a Refusal would not productive of such a Cordiality, as ought to have been the Basis of an Adventure of such Importance.

How far his L-----p was *pleas'd* to impart these or the like Sentiments in Support of this Measure, either in the C-----b-----t, or else-where, I cannot take upon me to explain : But, as far as I could learn, all that was ever suggested in Opposition to it, amounted to no more than this, That the ratifying this Convention, would put it in the Power of the Court of *Vienna*, to conduct the War in what Manner they thought fit, and make it their Interest to continue it, as long as we were in a Condition to support the Expence of it.

But every body knows, that Pretences made by one Party, to evade the Force, and defeat the

the *Purpose* of a Contract, will furnish the other with Counter-pretences, to break thro' the *Letter* of it. If therefore her *Hungarian* Majesty had started any unreasonable Difficulties, or made any considerable Failures on her Side, Delays, or Denials of Payment on ours, would soon have oblig'd her to observe a more punctual and satisfactory Conduct for the Time to come : And, in case she had taken her Turn to reject any Offer of Peace, on moderate and equitable Terms, by the same Method, we both could and should have compell'd her to come in.

Besides, of all Men living, they were the least likely to be tied down by Parchment Punctilios : And all *Europe* has of late been fully convinc'd, that, whenever their Convenience requir'd a Peace, a Peace would have been sign'd on any Terms, how inconsistent soever with our Engagements to our Allies, or how fatal soever to the Honour of their ———, and the Interest of their Country.

Nothing, however, could be more irreconcilable with their late Conduct, in rejecting the Propositions of *Hanau*, or their ratifying the Treaty of *Worms*, than the Language they then us'd. For if they had any reason to fear they might be forc'd to continue the War, till the Burden grew insupportable, they ought to have embrac'd the first Opportunity of laying it down : And they ought not to have authoris'd this Demand of the Queen of *Hungary's*, by the Concessions they had made to the King of *Sardinia*.-----But the Truth of the Matter is, They were unwilling to have any such System established, as, being once put into Motion, must have proceeded regularly and
in-

invariably, whether *They* had any Share of the Regulation or not ; and for that Reason resolv'd to war, what was not in their Power to mend.

The immediate Consequence indeed was not so disagreeable as might have been apprehended : For the *French* Court had no Offers to make her *Hungarian* Majesty, that could induce her to evacuate *Bavaria* : And soon after, by declaring War against her in Form, and by spiriting up the *Frankfort* Alliance, they laid her under a Necessity of stifling her Resentments, and of submitting to be serv'd after what Method the *Brotherhood* thought fit to prescribe.

But then every remote and incidental Consequence was such, as our worst Enemies would have bespoken, if it had been in their Power : And all the Ability that was requir'd to pervert Good into Evil, by the Means of *Two to one*, *Walpole's* Porter was qualify'd to supply as well as *They*.

Having, however, assum'd the dictatorial Power, and so far at least succeeded in it, they were not content with a negative Voice ; but laid out for an Opportunity to shew, That they were altogether as adroit in forming Measures of their own, as in defeating those of Others.

Nor was it long before such an Opportunity occur'd. At the very opening of the next Year, *France* came to a Resolution to find us Employment at Home, by letting loose the Pretender amongst us ; and, early in *March*, was pleas'd to declare War against us in Form.

In this Interval, Mr. *Trevor* had received Instructions to demand those Succours of the States, which they were oblig'd by Treaty to furnish : Their Lordships demurr'd, till about the Middle
of

of *April*, and then dispatch'd the Baron *Boetselaer* to assure his -----, That his Masters were resolv'd to adhere to their Engagements : And whenever requir'd, would send over the 6000 Men, and as many Ships of War as they could spare, for the Defence of this Country : And withal to make it their Request, That, as there was a Reserve in those Treaties of three Months Time, for the Party on whom the Demand was made, to employ his or their good Offices to bring about an Accommodation, his ----- would allow them to do so, and direct his M-----rs to furnish him with a Sketch of his Demands in Writing, that they might take their Measures accordingly.

As this was understood to be a Request that could not be decently refus'd, it became one of the next Considerations of the C----b----t to comply with it : But, it prov'd as difficult a Task to reconcile the warring Opinions of the two opposite Parties there, as to restore the Peace of *Europe*. The Debate lasted a whole Month ; and then the Abilities of the Two B-----rs carry'd it, as before, by the Odds of *Two to One*.

And now, as if in Consequence of this Victory, the *Eldest* had added L----- G-----'s Province to his own ; For tho' the Business lay properly in the Former, he was pleas'd to remove it, by Way of Trophy, to the Latter ; and, having fill'd a Sheet or Two of Paper, with what he call'd his Plan, deliver'd it to M. *Boetselaer*.

Would you know the Contents of it ? Look back to the Propositions of *Hanau*, which had been rejected almost Ten Months before, and you will find all that was material in it, and *more* : For the Article which provided for the Election
of

of a King of the *Romans*, (and which of all the Articles, was the most necessary and important to us, because it would have settled the Tranquility of the *Empire*, for two Lives at least) was omitted. So that, instead of rising in our Demands, as might have been expected, from Those who had acted so cavalierly on that Occasion, like *Falstaff*, we only manifested a marvellous Alacrity in sinking: And, the same Thing, tho' in other Terms, was observ'd, as well in the Prince of *Hesse's* Narrative, publish'd 1744, as Count *Dobna's* Declarations to the Court of *Vienna*, and the Answer of that Court thereto.

But, while this Affair continued yet in Suspence, and M. *Boetselaer* continued to ply the *Brotherhood*, with Importunities, to come to a Resolution of some Sort or another, the Duke d' *Arenberg* came over with a Proposition from the Court of *Vienna*, to the following Effect, viz.

That as no Disposition had been yet made on our Side for the Defence of *Flanders*, and consequently the *French* would be Superior to the Amount of 30 or 40,000 Men, the only Resource that was left, was to make such a Diversion on the Side of *Afice*, as should oblige the *French* to withdraw a great Part of their Army out of *Flanders* for the Defence of it: That this necessary and important Purpose could not, however, be serv'd, without an Advance of 150,000 *l.* to prepare Magazines, and other Repquisites for so great an Undertaking: That as the Emperor's Health was visibly on the Decline, it was, moreover, high Time to secure a Majority in the Electoral College, by way of Preparatory for a new Election: That, in order thereto, he had three Treaties to

re-

recommend, Namely, one with *Mayencé*, one with *Cologne*, and the third with the King of *Poland*, as Elector of *Saxony*: That these Princes had severally acquainted the Court of *Vienna* with their Readiness to enter into our Alliance, provided proper Subsidies were paid them: And that by gaining these three Electors, over and above their Interest in the Electoral College, these Advantages would immediately accrue to the common Cause. 1. The Electors of *Mayence* and *Cologne*, could greatly assist Prince *Charles* in passing the *Rhine*; their Situation being such, That, without breaking the Neutrality of the Empire, they could, in a very eminent Degree, facilitate the Purposes of which Party they pleas'd. 2. There was no Measure that would operate so forcibly on the Councils of the States General, as the securing the Elector of *Coogne*: For, in Case of a Rupture with *France*, the Safety of the Republic depended upon it: Of which no stronger Proof need be given, than the Dismay, and even Dispondency which appear'd throughout the whole Seven Provinces, when M. *de Maillebois* march'd into that Electorate. 3. The Queen of *Hungary* could not suffer Prince *Charles* to pass the *Rhine*, unless she was freed from all Apprehensions from the Side of *Prussia*, which she could no otherwise be, than by the Interposition of *Saxony*: That Court having of Regulars and Irregulars, between 40 and 50,000 Men, which join'd to a Body of 18,000 Regulars, and the *Hungarian* Irregulars, which were besides under the Command of Marshal *Bathiani*, would either be sufficient to deter his *Prussian* Majesty from making any other Attempts
against

against the Queen of *Hungary*; or to find him sufficient Employment in case he did.

This was the Substance of the Duke *d'Aremberg's* Commission. And as to the Reception it met with, it was such as became the divided Condition of the C---b---t, as above represented. Those, that were capable of forming the truest Judgment of Things, and coming to the wisest Resolutions, had the least Power; and those who had most, were for making all the Concerns of *Europe* give Place to their own.

As this Proposal, therefore, had the same Tendency as the Convention for ascertaining her *Hungarian* Majesty's Subsidy; and paying it at such a Time, as should render it doubly efficacious, it was obnoxious to the same Fate. But Men, who have indirect Purposes to serve, dare not be direct in declaring them. When therefore the Duke *d'Aremberg* or M. *Boetselaer* renew'd their Memorials, or press'd for Answers, the eldest of the Two B-----rs consulted his Cook, and undertook to keep them in Temper with the Prodigality and Splendor of his Entertainments: When, also, it appear'd, That they were cloy'd with a Repetition of the same Dainties, and that, when the Interlude was over, they return'd to Business with the same serious Face as before, tho' his G----- could not deny the Expediency of the Measures propos'd, he disputed their Practicability; at least as to what regarded *England*; which, according to the Lessons he had received from h--s B-----r, he urg'd, was not in a Condition to furnish the Sums requir'd.

But even this Pretence serv'd only to increase his Embarrassment: For the Duke *d'Aremberg*,
with

with great Propriety, proceeded to expostulate with him upon it, if not in the very Terms, in Substance as follows,

----- Why then did you invite a War ? Why did you reject the Offers of the Emperor at *Hanau*, which put it into your Power to restore *Peace* to *Europe* ? Did not you know the Condition of your Country then ? If you did not, Why did you not make yourselves acquainted with it, before you put a Negative on a Proposal of such infinite Importance ? If you did, and it appear'd to be really such as you would have it understood to be, the former Question recurs, Why did you invite a War, which you knew, you could not support ? But, whatever your Condition is, the War is declar'd, and the Question to be consider'd, is not what *should* have been done *then* ? but what *must* be done *now* ? There is no resisting the Power of *France*, without forming Alliances. There is no reducing it without the Alliances in Question. These Alliances are not to be had without a valuable Consideration ; and as the Exigence is pressing, the Provision must be suitable.-----As to what concerns her *Hungarian* Majesty ; had the Convention in her Favour been ratify'd, and the Parliament come to a suitable Resolution upon it, she might have drawn the Sum demanded for the Passage of the *Rhine*, from the Banks of *Amsterdam*, *Hamborough* or *Genoa*, on the Credit of it ; and have been in a Condition at this Time to execute, what she is still to negotiate : But, as Matters now stand, it is impossible for her to make an extraordinary Effort, without extraordinary Assistance : And unless such an Effort is made, no Check can be given to the Progress of the Enemy in *Flanders*.

Thus far his Excellency: And perhaps you are in some Pain for h---s G-----, when it came to his Turn to reply.-----But that which would have been a Difficulty to you or me, was little or none to him. When the Sense of an Argument is all of one Side, the best Resource is to have all Nonsense on the other: And of this the D----- had the happiest Vein of any C-----b-----t C-----r in *Europe*. After a Thousand Expressions of Zeal for the *Common Cause*, Respect for her *Hungarian* Majesty, and Esteem for his Excellency, he admitted, he cavilled, he promis'd, he doubted, he said, he unsaid, till he saw his Excellency was as much bewilder'd as he desir'd he should be, and then, as usual, he left him to grow giddy, in endeavouring to unwind the Maze, in which he was entangled.

In short, the Time allotted for his Stay at this Court, having been wasted in a like Course of Ambiguities and Perplexities, he was at last dismiss'd with a Request, That he would repair to his Command in the Allied Army in *Flanders*; and with a Promise, That the three Treaties he had propos'd, should be adopted; and that the 150,000 *l.* required by the Queen his Mistress, should be paid, when her Army had actually pass'd the *Rhine*.

But, after all, what contributed most to the Performance of as much as was perform'd of this Promise, was the Firmness of the *States General*, who refus'd to send their Quota of 16,000 Men to the Allied Army, till the Treaty of *Cologne* was sign'd, and towards which they consented to pay as much as we, in order to quicken a Measure, which so essentially concern'd their own Preservation.

Their

Their Lordships also consented to pay their Quota to the *Saxon* Subsidy : Which was another Circumstance of Moment : For the B-----rs having been driven from their Assertion, That *England* was not able to furnish the Sums requir'd, had no other Subterfuge to excuse the Delay of their Acquiescence, but the Reasonableness of waiting for the Determination of *Holland* : And they no sooner condescended to signify that Acquiescence, than the Draught was finally adjust-ed with Count *Fleming* the *Saxon* Minister : And the *Mayence* Treaty, having kept Pace with that of *Cologne*, nothing seem'd to be wanting but the Royal *Fiat* to complete the Duke d' *Arenberg's* Project ; with an Exception to the Time already lost, in Alteration and Amusement, that is to say, which there was no Secret in Policy to recover.

But tho' the Port is in view, and scarce a Cloud is to be seen in the Sky, while there is such a mutinous Spirit at the Helm, we are not to reckon we are at the End of our Voyage.-----The Negotiation with Count *Fleming* had been conducted by L----- G-----, and consequently it belong'd to him to lay it before the * * * * : But Form requires the Two S-----s to attend his ----- together, unless they are upon such ill terms with each other, as to render it impracticable ; and the Elder B-----r, according to his Custom, making it late before he came, his L-----p took upon him to make his Report, without waiting for his Colleague, and his ----- ventur'd to receive it ; which was esteem'd such an Offence to the Dignity, Almightyness and Importance of the *Brotherhood*, That they would no longer concur in a Measure,

sure,

sure, which in any one Step had been conducted without their Participation : And thus, by the Overforwardness of one M-----r, and the undutiful Repentment of another, the said Measure, at least, for the Crisis when it was of most Consequence, was lost.

To illustrate this, we need only make a short Transition to the Events of the Year : And first as to the Project of Peace, communicated by the B-----rs, thro' the Hands of M. *Boetselaer* to the *States*, and by them transmitted by M. *Twickel* to the *most Christian King*, it did not reach his said Majesty, till he had open'd the Campaign on the Side of *Flanders*, at the Head of such an Army and such a Train, as appeared to be irresistible : It is no Wonder, therefore, that it did not take Effect : And that he preferr'd the more vigorous Method of attempting to bring the Allies to Reason, by forcing their Frontier ; which he did with such Success, that by the Beginning of *July* he had reduc'd *Courtray*, *Harlebeck*, *Warleton*, *Menin*, *Ypres*, *Fort Knocke* and *Furnes*, and made a Sort of triumphant Entry into *Dunkirk*.

On the other hand, by refusing to advance the 150,000 *l.* required by the Duke *d'Arenberg*, to enable Prince *Charles* to pass the *Rhine*, instead of passing it by the Middle of *May*, which it was propos'd to do, and which must have prevented the rapid Progress of the *French*, just spoken of, it was the End of *June* before he was in a Condition to accomplish it.

Again, (as we have seen in the *Examination*) when the Utility of that Measure had been demonstrated, by the Necessity it laid the *French* under

der, of making such a Detachment from their Army in *Flanders*, as not only reduc'd them to the *Defensive* wholly, but expos'd them to the Efforts of the Allies, who had now the Superiority in their Turn, instead of making the notable Use of this Opportunity, that was still in our Power, we sacrific'd it to the paltry Consideration of so trifling a Sum as 18 or 20,000*l*.

Lastly, For want of perfecting our Treaty with *Saxony*, the *Frankfort*-Alliance had Time and Space to operate to its full Extent: The King of *Sweden*, who, as Landtgrave of *Hesse Cassel* was a Party in it, recall'd his Troops out of our Service, and join'd the Emperor: The Elector-*Palatine* did the same: And the King of *Prussia*, at the Head of a powerful Army, fell into *Bohemia*.

So that, instead of defeating the Purpose of the *Frankfort*-Alliance, and holding *Prussia* in Check, as would have been the Case, if the *Saxon*-Treaty had been sign'd, instead of enabling Prince *Charles* to maintain his Ground in *Alsace*, and seizing the Occasion to open a Way into the Heart of *France*, as by the reducing *Maubeuge* and *Landrecy*, might have been done, we suffer'd M. *Saxe* to remain unmolested in *Flanders*; Prince *Charles* was obliged to repass the *Rhine* in Sight of an Army, which by Reinforcements sent to it from all Parts, was become superior to his own; as also at the Hazard of being enclos'd between the *French* on one Side, and the Imperialists on the other; and after a long and violent March into *Bohemia*, had it for his Winter's Work, to wrest that Kingdom out of the Hands of the *Prussians*. Nor would it have been in his Power to do so, if her *Hungarian* Majesty had not purchas'd the Assistance

stance of 24,000 *Saxons*, at the Expence of one Third of the 150,000 l. which she received from hence, for the Passage of the *Rhine*.

Circumstances, which at once serve to manifest the Importance of signing the *Saxon Treaty*, so unwarrantably frustrated by the B——rs; and that her *Hungarian Majesty*, was not backward to divide the Subsidies she received with her Allies, when the Service requir'd it; tho' she has been unjustly accus'd of lavishing the Treasures devoted to public Uses in private Prodigalities.

But tho, by the Assistance of those Auxiliaries, Prince *Charles* did, indeed, force the *Prussians* to abandon *Bohemia*, the Emperor on the other Hand, having been reinforced by a strong Detachment from the *French Army*, expell'd the *Austrians* out of *Bavaria*: And the most *Christian King*, in the same Interval, finish'd the Campaign, by the taking of *Friburgh*.

Thus the Aspect of Affairs was wholly chang'd: The Emperor, who, the Year before, was reduc'd to such Extremities, that he had not Credit at *Franckfort* for the Necessaries of his Household, had now recover'd those Dominions by Force of Arms, which had been refus'd to him at *Hanau*, as the Price of Peace: The *French*, who, in Consequence of the Duke *d'Aremberg's* Proposals, might have been compell'd to accept of such a Peace as the Allies should have thought fit to prescribe, were now in a Condition to prescribe in their Turn: And the War, which, as if out of Wantonness, the B——rs had refus'd to end, when it was in their Power, and which, under a Pretence of husbanding the publick Money, they had husbanded as thriftily as possible ever since,

since, took in a larger Field, and threaten'd to produce more fatal Effects than it had done before.

You may now perhaps expect, that I should bestow a Minute or two on the *Not-Abilities* of this wonderful Brace of M——rs: But tho' I am come to the End of the Year, I have still a Part of their Web to unravel; and, therefore, must not, as yet, sum up the Merits of their Performances.

As soon as Advice was received of the Motions of his *Prussian* Majesty towards *Bohemia*, it was impossible not to look back with Regret to the *Saxon* Negotiation, nor to avoid reflecting on the Manner of its Miscarriage: But, notwithstanding the Provocation, Arguments were us'd instead of Reproaches: Baron *Wafner* demonstrated the Necessity of resuming it; Baron *Boetselaer*, zealously concurr'd with him in all his Instances: And the States consented to pay one Third of the Subsidy. All, however, was ineffectual: The B——rs affected to adhere to their former Maxim; and, notwithstanding the calamitous Effects of it, which could neither be controverted nor excus'd, would allow no Necessity to be so great, as that of saving, or seeming to save the publick Money: Instead, therefore, of closing with the Offer of the States, to charge themselves with one Part in Three, they insisted on two Parts in Five: and, tho' L—— G—— foretold, that their High Mightinesses would never be induced to agree on that Footing, for fear of the Precedent; and remonstrated, not only, that Time, thorough the whole Course of their Dispute, had been of infinitely greater Value than Money, but
also

also, That every new Delay had a Tendency to throw the *Saxon* Interest into the Scale of *France* and *Prussia*, and thereby to destroy the very Possibility of recovering the Balance, They continued obstinate : And thus this important Measure was defeated a second Time.

But, whatever was the Gloss they set upon their Conduct, the true Secret of it has been discover'd in the *Occasional Letter* above quoted : They had most iniquitously brought their *Broad-Bottom-Allies* to believe, That his L—— p was the Person who had *rejected* the Propositions of *Hanau*, and had fed them with the Hope of an *Impeachment* ; and the latter were become so eager for the Sport, that nothing less than a Share in the Administration would reconcile them to a Disappointment : It was therefore become absolutely necessary to disappoint and mortify the ——— to distress his Allies, and to obstruct every Branch of Service as much as possible, that his ——— might be forc'd to remove a Man from his Councils and Presence, whose Abilities he was not permitted to make use of ; and that he might be served by them only, in what Manner they pleas'd.

And no sooner was this great Point carry'd, than, as if G———le's Mantle had dropt upon them, they professed to adopt the Measures they had hitherto decry'd ; and by Way of Earnest of their good Intentions, immediately sent Instructions to Mr. *Villiers*, the *British* Minister at the Court of *Saxony*, to use his utmost Efforts to remove the ill Impressions which their desultory Behaviour had made on his *Polish* Majesty, and to put the last Hand to the Treaty of *Warsaw*

saw, which, on the 8th of *January* following, he had the Address and Happiness to accomplish.

That the E—— of C-----d, also, whom they had prevail'd upon to answer for them to the *States General*, might meet with the more favourable Reception, they authoris'd him to sign the Convention with their High and Mighty Lordships on L--- G-----le's Plan, of their paying *one Part* in *Three*, instead of insisting as before, on *two Parts* in *Five*: And, what is still more extraordinary, as if they had bound themselves to give them a valuable Consideration, even for standing to their own former Agreement, they farther directed his L-----p, in all his subsequent Engagements with the Republic, to settle the Quota's and Propositions of Troops, Fleets and Subsidies, on so low a Footing as ONE in FOUR.

So that after they had rejected the Offer of a Peace on advantageous Terms, and made the Continuance of the War their own Act and Deed, they directed the whole Scope of their Endeavours to render that War unprosperous; And after they had expos'd our Allies to ruin, under the Pretence of being unable to pay the the Expence of their Preservation, they rushed into far greater Expences, on far more unequal Terms, and with less Probability of Success, than ever had been incurred, or demanded before.

Is there, then, the least Glimmering, either of Ability or Integrity, to be discover'd thorough the whole Course of this proceeding? The slightest Trace of what denotes a faithful Servant, an experienced Statesman, or even a Well-wisher to the Interest and honour of his Country! As to the Advantage they obtain'd over their Rival, which some

People may be abandon'd enough to urge, as a Proof that they had the Superiority in Point of Understanding, it arose from the *Strength*, not the *Understanding* of the *Brotherhood*, and from such a dishonest Use of that Strength, as no wise Man would have practis'd, and no great Man would have countenanc'd.

If, indeed, an Ad-----n cannot be rightly constituted, without a due Mixture of Cunning and Perplexity, Arrogance and Meanness, Levity and Obstinacy, Rancour and Plausibility, it must then be allow'd the Two B-----rs had all the Qualifications necessary for the Dispatch of foreign and domestic Affairs: But, if these, on the contrary, are the Indications of weak Heads, and hollow Hearts, all their Acquisitions of Power, must be placed to the Account of the *Legion* they had under their Command; and it will be Matter of Lamentation for many an Age to come, that ever the Power of this Kingdom fell into such Hands.

Late, however, as the *Saxon* Treaty was brought to a Conclusion, and weakened in its Operations as it had been, by such a Series of inexcusable Delays, it had still some Vigour and Virtue remaining: For it gave us the Majority in the Electoral College, at a Crisis when it was of the utmost Importance; for the Wax was scarce cold before the Emperor dy'd; and it enabled her *Hungarian* Majesty to send an Army into *Bavaria*, early in the Spring, which routed the *French* and *Palatine* Forces, before they could join the *Bavarians* and *Hessians*; and afterwards cut off and surrounded the *Hessians*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ingolstadt*, where they were oblig'd to lay down their Arms and surrender at Discretion: In Consequence of which

which Successes, the young Elector found himself oblig'd to sign the Treaty of *Pueffen*; in which, among a Variety of other Concessions, he not only renounc'd all Claim to the *Austrian* Succession, but engag'd his Vote to the grand Duke at the next Election, in order to the raising him to the *Imperial* Throne: And the Court of *Cassel*, seeing no Prospect of recovering their Captive Troops out of the Hands of the *Austrians*, except by deserting the *French* Interest, once more embrac'd that of the Allies, and were rewarded with the same Subsidy from *England*, as they had enjoy'd, before the Rejection of the Propositions of *Hanau* furnish'd them with a Pretence to go over to the Enemy.

It has been already observ'd, in the *Examination*, That the *Bavarians* might have been added to the Allies at this very Crisis, as well as the *Hessians*: Nor is there an Item in the Treaty just quoted, which does not serve to shew the Situation of the young Elector, to be such, as render'd that Measure one of the most desirable Things that could have befallen him: And if I was farther to suggest, That under a proper Management, even the Elector *Palatine*, might also have been induc'd to follow the Example, I could justify that Suggestion by every kind of Probability, if not by positive Facts: For the Obligation of the *Frankfort*-Alliance was at an End: Two of the Parties had been forc'd to relinquish it: Prince *Charles*, in his March to the Rescue of *Bohemia* out of the Hands of his *Prussian* Majesty, had put the *Upper Palatinate* under severe Contributions: In the Beginning of the Year the *Austrians* reduc'd that whole Province: In the Action which was so fatal to the *Bavarian* Court, the *Palatine* Troops

Troops had suffer'd greatly, and the Dutchies of *Bergue* and *Fuliers* were expos'd to the Incurfions of the Duke d'*Aremberg*. So that a bare State of the Distreffes of this Prince may be faid to carry Conviction along with it.

But under the Head of fuch Omissions as ferve to demonftrate, either, that the B----rs had the leaft of the Statesman in their Compofition, of any that ever yet aspir'd to the Name, or that their Purpofes had a more pernicious Tendency than thofe of our moft open and determin'd Enemies, I ought not to forget that other Project, which had been recommended by L---- G-----, in order to lay a proper Reftraint on the enterprizing Genius of *Prufia*, and even to ftrike a Terror into *France* itfelf: I mean the Project of engaging the *Czarina* to become a Party in the common Caufe.

That They had not entirely loft Sight of it, appears by that Article of the *Warsaw-Treaty*, in which it is provided, That both *Ruffia* and *Poland* fhould be invited to accede to it: But that this great and important Point was never labour'd in earneft, till it was found indifpenfably neceffary for the procuring a Peace upon *any Terms*, will admit, I think, of every kind of Proof, that can be requir'd to fatisfy the moft diffident Mind.

As the fatal Experience of the former Year had made way for the faid Treaty, fo a very little Sagacity would have serv'd to difcover, that the fame Meafure, which might before have prevented the Flame, would not be fufficient to extinguifh it. The Blow which had demolifhed the *Franckfort-Alliance*, tho' meditated, could not be depended upon: The *Imperial* Crown was in Suspence, and liable to be difpos'd of by the ftrongeft Arm: Tho'

Tho' the King of *Prussia* had been repuls'd, he was far from being subdued: And tho' it is possible, the Rebellion in *Scotland* was not *fore-known*, it might have been *foreseen*, by any sensible Man who recollected the intended Invasion in the Beginning of the preceeding Year, and who compar'd the visible Interest of the Court of *France*, with the expos'd Condition of the united Kingdom, after the several Draughts had been made for the Service in *Flanders*: And all these Considerations might have convinc'd every Man, but Those who ought to have understood them best, That this was the Time for collecting all the Strength, which they could have collected together, for the making such an Effort that Year, as should have atton'd for all pass'd Miscarriages; and prevented, as far as human Prudence could prevent, all future Misfortunes.

Indeed, according to a Sort of Cabinet-Dream, which had taken Possession of some People's Heads about this Time, no less than Three Armies were to have fallen into the King of *Prussia's* Electoral Dominions at once: But if this Dream had been ever so precisely verity'd, the Posture of Affairs in *Flanders* would have deriv'd no Benefit from it: Whereas, by engaging the *Bavarians*, and adding to them such a Body of *Russians*, as have been since retain'd, by Way of Co-adjutors to the Plenipotentiaries at *Aix*, such a Re-inforcement might have been spar'd for the Service in *Flanders*, as would have enabled the Allies to face the *French* on equal Terms; and left the B-----rs without Excuse or Pretence, for having left this Country, which was at so vast an Expence for the Maintenance of Fleets and Armies, destitute
of

of a sufficient Number of Forces, to provide for its own Defence.

But, instead of pressing the Court of *Petersburgh* on such a Principle, as might have facilitated so important a Measure, we contented ourselves, first, with a bare Solicitation of the Succours stipulated by the Defensive Treaty of 1743, and then of her *Imperial* Majesty's Accession to the Treaty of *Warsaw*; and continu'd to sollicite on, under a Variety of Evasions and Amusements, from the Beginning of the Year 1744, by Lord *Tyravley* in the Capacity of Envoy, and the Earl of *Hyndford*, in that of Ambassador-extraordinary, till *April* 1745, when the *Russian* Ministers thought themselves authoriz'd to decline the Performance of what was requir'd of their Mistress, by suggesting, That the King of *Prussia* having intreated her *Imperial* Majesty to act as a Mediatrix between the Powers at War, she thought it more reasonable to make an Offer of her good Offices to compose the Quarrel, than to become a Party in it.

And as to the Events which waited on this Complication of Blunders; they were such as serv'd to shew, That Imprudence is but the Harbinger to Misfortune. In the Course of this calamitous Year, the *Prussians* were four Times victorious over the *Austrians* and *Saxons*: The Battle of *Fontenoy* was lost; and no less than seven of the principal Towns of *Flanders* were reduc'd: In *Italy*, Count *Gages* having cross'd the *Appennine*, and join'd *Don Philip* in the Territories of the *Genoesse*, that Republic, in Resentment of the Treaty of *Worms*, declar'd their Alliance with *France* and *Spain*, and re-inforc'd the *Spanish* Army with

10,000

10,000 of their Troops : What follow'd on that Side, during the Residue of the Year, was an uninterrupted Series of Success : *Acqui, Tortona, Parma* and *Placentia* were severally reduc'd : After which the Victors forc'd a Passage at the *Tanaro* ; and became Masters both of the *Milaneſe*, and of *Piedmont*, on both Sides the *Po*, as far as *Turin* : Lastly, upon this Island of ours, which was suppos'd to be out of the Reach of Danger, from a Cloud, that seem'd to be at first no bigger than a Man's Hand, such a Storm descended, as had like to been fatal to it : That I allude to the Rebellion, and the Action at *Preston-pans*, if it can be call'd one, you cannot be at a Loss to guess ; and where the *Wisdom* and *Policy* lay, of sending almost our last Reserve of Troops, to be made Prisoners of War at *Ostend*, when it was known the young Pretender was at Sea ; or of treating the Accounts that were daily receiv'd from *Scotland* of his Progress, with Neglect and Contempt, till *England* itself was expos'd to all the Calamities inseparable from it, I defy the most able and determin'd Advocate in the Pay of the *Brotherhood*, either within Doors or without Doors, to discover.

But while the War was thus feebly and ineffectually prosecuted, our great Masters in Politics, did not forget, That, unless they, at the same Time, continu'd to keep the Channel of Negotiation open, the *Amusement* would not be complete.

Thus they *affected* to treat, as They *affected* to fight ; and according to their Endeavours was their Success. In reading their *Dispatches* one would have sworn, They had rely'd wholly on the *Sword* : In reading their *Gazettes*, one would have

have sworn, They had rely'd wholly on *Treaty-Work*. In short, They appear'd to be the same in Politics, that the *Fribbles* are in Love: And it is no Wonder, therefore, that both in the Cabinet and the Field, the *French* were Masters.

There was, indeed one M-----r amongst them, who, despairing of the War under so wild a Management, lost no Opportunity of enforcing such Measures, as had a Tendency to facilitate a Peace: Or, at least, to put the Contest on a more equal Footing.

Of these Measures, to divide *Prussia* from *France*, was that which stood Foremost, and, consequently, what excited his Attention most: But, notwithstanding all his Endeavours, he had not the Satisfaction to see it accomplish'd till towards the Close of the Year.

His *Prussian* Majesty had his Eyes always fix'd on the Motions of the *Russians*: The *Cazarina* had found out a Pretence to excuse herself from acting on his Behalf, as a Guarantee of *Silesia*; upon which he had withdrawn, and she had expressly relinquish'd, the Offer he had made, of accepting her Mediation: The Ministers of the Allies, and particularly those of *Saxony*, grew importunate in their Demands of Assistance: And he was not without a Fore-knowledge, That when those Demands were back'd with a proper Consideration, They would be successful.

As a Sort of trimming Measure, therefore, which might put it in his Power to secure an Accommodation, in case of Need, he gave his Consent to a Convention with *Great Britain*, which was sign'd at *Hanover* in *August*, by which it was provided, That his *Prussian* Majesty should hold
Silesia

Sileſia under the Guarantee of *England*: That the King of *Poland* ſhould renounce all Pretenſions to it; That his *Pruffian* Maſteſty ſhould give his Vote at the enſuing Election, to the Grand Duke, &c.

But tho' on the Side of *Great Britain*, the Purpoſe of the ſaid Convention was that already ſpecify'd; and the King of *Pruffia*, over and over again, declar'd his unalterable Reſolution; to be contented with nothing leſs than what was ſtipulated for him in it, the Operation of it upon the Allies was ſcarce viſible, till the King of *Pruffia* transferr'd the Seat of War to *Saxony*, and, by a Courſe of Succeſſes, made Way for the Treaty of *Dreſden*; in which the *Eleſtor Palatine* being alſo comprehended, the Tranquility of the Empire was reſtor'd: And her *Hungarian* Maſteſty was once more left at Liberty, to employ her Troops in *Flanders* and *Italy*, againſt the Encroachments of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

It was not, however, till the Cloſe of the Year, that this Treaty was perfected: And ſuch had been the Loſſes, which, in the Courſe of ſo many Battles, ſhe had ſuſtain'd, that, tho' ſhe had rid her Hands of one Enemy, at the Expence of an expreſs Renunciation of *Sileſia* and *Glatz*, ſhe was no longer in a Condition to make Head againſt the Reſt, with that Celerity, which the Exigence of her Affairs requir'd; or that Strength which was neceſſary to withſtand the Efforts that were made againſt her.

Had, indeed, the Remittances been iſſued from hence at the proper Time, according to the Project communicated by her Miniſter at *Vienna*, ſhe might have completed her Corps, remounted her

E Cavalry,

Cavalry, and filled her Magazines, Time enough to have retarded the Progress of the Enemy, at least in reducing the Barrier Towns of *Flanders*, if not prevented it.

But the *Brotherhood* were now furnish'd with what they thought a sufficient Excuse to justify all Omissions, and palliate all Refusals: The Rebellion (which had been so long neglected, and despis'd, and which had never shock'd the Peace, nor sunk the Reputation of this Kingdom at all, if the Proposals of *Hanau* had been accepted, if the Convention had been made with the Queen of *Hungary*, or the *Saxon Treaty* had been concluded, when it was first recommended by the Duke d' *Aremberg*) was grown to such a Head, that the Question of the Day was alter'd, and instead of asking, as it had been the Custom to do, whether the B-----rs had any *Purpose* to extinguish it, it came to be ask'd, Whether it was in their *Power*?

And, indeed, so ambiguous, so irresolute, so contradictory was their Behaviour, that it was hard to decide, whether their Blunders arose from a Defect of Principle, or a Defect of Understanding. To enumerate all the Proofs which might be collected of Neglects so gross, that they seem'd to be wilful, and of Absurdities so glaring, that they seem'd calculated to be fatal, would be a Task as impossible as unnecessary. — There is scarce an Officer in the Army, from the D--- down to a common Serjeant, that has it not in his Power to recollect, such Orders and Counter-Orders, such Marches and Counter-Marches, as are abundantly sufficient to make good the Premises. — And there is scarce a Gentleman of any Fashion, who had his Residence

dence in Town, during that shameful Interval, but must remember, that the Panic, which expos'd us to the Contempt of our Neighbours, for our Pusillanimity, and which propagated such a Mixture of Dismay, Confusion and Despair, from one Extremity of the Land to the other, was first propagated from the M-----l Quarter.

But even at this Period of Weakness and Wretchedness, (the last I hope which is to disgrace our Annals) the *French*, probably apprehending, that if they declin'd a Treaty now, they might have one to negotiate with Men of more Ability, testify'd an Inclination, to make an Experiment of that kind.

Tho' Baron *Boetse'aer*, had, in the Year 1744, found it so difficult to obtain any Project of Peace from the *Brotherhood*: And M. *Twickel* had not succeeded in his Negotiations with the *French* Court upon it, the States-General were importunate for a second Trial; and, having drawn some farther Explanations from our M-----rs, dispatch'd both M. *Twickel* and M. *Gilles* to make a suitable Impression there.

This gave Rise to the Conferences of *Breda* in the Year 1746. M. the Marquis de *Puyfeulx* was appointed on the Behalf of *France*: And the E--- of S----- on the Behalf of *England*. But whatsoever the Inclinations or Pretensions of the *French* Ministers were, there was at that Time, little Sincerity in ours. The Rebellion at last had been happily suppress'd: And what with the Fears of some, and the Raptures of others, the Nation was obnoxious to any Practice of any kind whatsoever.

Having,

Having, therefore, proceeded as far as *Breda*, as would serve to establish an Opinion, or rather to countenance a Pretence, That they would have accepted Peace, if Peace had been acceptable to the Enemy ; They wantonly resolv'd to proceed with the War ; tho' without making the necessary Provisions in time either of Men or Money ; in Consequence of which fatal Neglects, the *French* had Leisure to make as great Advances, as they had done the Year before, towards the Reduction of the Barrier : And Prince *Charles* (whose military Glory, there was no Disposition, perhaps, on our Side of the Water, to advance, how much soever it might have conduc'd to the common Cause) was expos'd at *Rocoux*, to the Onset of a superior Enemy, that by the Dint of Numbers alone was, in a Manner, sure to conquer.

In plain *English*, one cannot help supposing, That it was partly in Compliment to his R----- H----- the D---, That the Resolution was taken to prolong the War ; and that, as he had not the Honour of commanding the Allies this Year, we conniv'd at the Losses of it, and kept our Strength in Reserve, to render him so much the more illustrious, by the Efforts of the next.

But how well soever a Conduct of this kind might become a *Courtier*, it is utterly incompatible with the Character of a Statesman. As it is the first Rule of Policy, To leave as little as possible in the Power of Fortune : So it is the second, never to make a voluntary Sacrifice to Misfortune : Ill Success (and that not very unreasonably) passes for Inability : And he that refines away his own Character, may be run down before he has an Opportunity to recover it.

This,

This, for the present, might suffice, on the Head of *Ability*: But if any farther Comment should be thought necessary, the *Canada-Project*, and the Port *'Orient-Expedition*, which were also the Measures of this Year, will furnish all that is wanting to complete your Satisfaction on that Head.

Where, for Example, was the Wisdom of concerting a Measure in *April*, which ought to have been put in Execution in *March*? Or of directing the *Northern Colonies* to raise no less than Ten Thousand Men to co-operate with the *Regulars* to be sent from hence on that Service, without making any Provision for their Pay, their Employment, or their Discharge? Where was the Wisdom, or the Oeconomy, of putting the Nation to the Expence of the extraordinary Preparations necessary for such an Undertaking, and of exposing it to the Derision of the whole World, by Embarkations, Debarkations, and whatever besides could manifest, That our Councils were in a continual Fluctuation; and that, instead of the Refinements of Policy, we had not the Use of *Common Sense*?

Besides, When the B-----rs, had so far acted as the *Liegemen of France*, in preserving their Settlements in *America* from this Storm, and, by Way of *Tub* to their Fellow-Subjects, had directed it to the Coast of *Britany*, who did they associate with General S----- in the Command, but *Lestock*, whose infamous Behaviour in the *Mediterranean*, had laid him under such Suspicions, as ought to have amounted to a Disqualification? And would not the Event almost authorize a Conclusion, that they were as little dispos'd to annoy *France* at Home as Abroad? For it is no Secret in that Kingdom, That Port *'Orient* was not in a Condition

dition to make any Defence ; and that the Magistrates were actually on the Point of surrendering the Place, when, to their equal Surprize and Joy, they beheld our Troops re-embark, and our Ships set Sail.

Lastly ; Towards the Close of a Year, in which the B-----rs had alternately discover'd an Inclination both to Peace and War, without prosecuting either, They remov'd the same M-----r, who had carried the Olive Branch in his Mouth to *Breda*, to cultivate a Military Disposition, if possible, at the *Hague* ; and by carrying on an *irregular Correspondence* with the *Elder* to make way for the Removal of the only M----- in the -----, who had upon Principle, contended for the Necessity of coming to a speedy Accommodation.

And now we are once more come to the Year 1747, when a martial Spirit had avowedly taken Possession of the C----b---t, when the young *Aspirer* at the *Hague*, had sign'd a Convention with the *States*, for composing an Army of 140,000 Men, and when we appear'd so eager to enter upon Action, That we took the Field six Weeks before the Enemy.

And surely, after They had thus bespoke the Attention of the Public, if the B-----rs, had really possess'd any of those superior Abilities, which they have thought fit to derive to themselves, from the Interpretations they have put on my *former Discourse*, they would have manifested them now, by some Master-stroke, which might have exacted the Acknowledgments of all *Europe*.

But instead of making any such Attempt, we have not the least Warrant to conclude, That they had preconcerted any Plan of Operation : And if
they

they left all to the Direction of *their Hero*, *purpose-ly*, That he might ruin his own Character, as well as the War, which he hop'd to derive so much additional Honour and Importance from, that very *Purpose* would manifest them to be the lowest, as well as the wickedest of the human Species.-----

A Monkey may do as much or more Mischief than a Man: But, we are not, therefore, to infer, That Monkeys make the best Ministers.

In short, the whole of the Campaign was little better than a Series of Phrenzies, which render'd the Grace of *God* (in rescuing the *Dutch* out of the Harpy-Talons of a Faction, whose Mal-Administration serv'd almost to countenance that of the *Brotherhood*, and raising up a *Stadtholder* to be their Saviour and Protector) of none Effect.

Even the wisest Measure of the Year, (I mean the Negotiation with *Russia*) was manag'd in the foolishest Way. To have had all its Efficacy, it should have been dispatch'd the preceeding Winter: And as it was of equal Weight in the Scale, either as to Peace or War, no tolerable Reason can be assign'd why it was not.

Then what can be alledg'd in *Excuse*, for *re-jecting* the Offers made by the *most Christian King* to Sir *J----- L-----*, after the unfortunate Action at *Lassfeldt*? If the fatal Experience of *that* bloody Day, and the Loss of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, which follow'd it, convinc'd the *Brotherhood*, That our military Achievements would never counter-vail the Expence of them; and brought on that Fit of Despair, which prompted *One* of them at least, to become a public Advocate for a Peace upon *any Terms*; why were those Offers declar'd from the Throne inadmissible? Why did we run the Risque of being oblig'd to accept of *worse*? And why

was

was our very Credit suffer'd to be blasted, in order to supply the Demands of another Year, which we foresaw could not be productive of the least Service?

Or if the desperate Rashness of a loosing Gamester, who was in a humour to play on, tho' reduc'd to his last Stake, could not, as yet, be corrected by Reason, or mollify'd by Persuasion, why were not the Offers of *Spain*, (which, as we are told by the *Apologist* for a late *Resignation*, had been under Consideration for above a Year before,) accepted? Even the *Elder B-----r* himself, was, at first of Opinion, That the separating *France* and *Spain*, was of more Consequence to us than ten Victories; and that an Accommodation with the Latter, could not fail of producing that desirable Effect: Nor indeed could any Expedient have been propos'd, which bid so fair to satisfy all Parties as This: Those who delighted in War, might still have had a War with *France* for their *Amusement*: Those who were solicitous for a Peace, would have compounded with *Spain*, on equal and honourable Terms: As to the Body of the People, on the single Condition of having the Freedom of their Commerce re-established, (which alone occasioned the *Spanish* War) they would have chearfully prosecuted the Quarrel with *France* for a half a Century together: And even as to our Allies, in whose Name, and for whose Sake the Refusal was made, Experience has since shewn, That their Interest was as much concern'd in the Acceptance as ours: For *Guastalla* was not mention'd in the Establishment required for *Don Philip*: And, over and above the immediate Restitution of *Savoy*, the King of *Sardinia* would have been left in Possession of *Final*, and probably *Savona*, both which he has since been obliged

bliged to relinquish: Besides, on the Separation of the *Spanish* and *French* Armies, the Latter would soon have been oblig'd to quit *Italy*: The *Genese* must have submitted to the superior Power of the Allies; and nothing farther being to be apprehended from the Forces of the King of the Two *Sicilies*, they might have entered *France* on that Side, without Dread or Danger of being recall'd; and created such a Diversion as would have operated as far as *Flanders*. Add to all this, That the Moment *Spain* was become a neutral Power, what by the Increase of Commerce on our Side, and the absolute Ruin of the *French*, which must have been the Consequence, the Balance in point of Wealth would have been on our Side: And wherever Wealth is, Credit and Power are sure to follow: So that in two Campaigns more, *France* would probably be oblig'd to strike to us: And it might have been in the Power of the Allies to prescribe to her: Whereas, by this cruel Omission, we, in a Manner, forc'd the Two Crowns to continue a joint Pursuit: And it became obvious to every Man of Common Sense, that the farther we blunder'd on the same left-handed Road, the farther we should be out of our Way.

Instead, therefore, of losing our Time in proving what is already prov'd, That there is not a single Ray of Ability discernable in the palpable Darkness of this whole Proceeding, we ought to ask, how it was possible for Men, who barely affected to be thought Men of Business, to suffer themselves to be so grossly infatuated? And if the only Solution we can find, is in the *absolute Ascendancy* which the C-----r d'O-----o, had found Means to obtain over the first L---d in the C-b-t,

can we any longer suffer such a *Jay*, to trick himself out of the *Plumage* of a *Burleigh*, a *Godolphin*, a *Maribourough*, a *Stanhope*, or any other Lord of the *Stanhope* Name.

All these justly celebrated Statesmen knew and observ'd the Laws of Decorum to a Scruple: They received foreign Ministers, with the Respect that was due to their Characters; but they plac'd their Confidence in none; as well knowing, That they were no better than honourable Spies; and that, to be true to their Trust, they must improve every Whisper to the Interest of their Masters, tho' to the Ruin of the Court or Country where they resided.

And yet the Public has been assur'd, That at the Levees of *L-----n's-I-n-F-----ds*, the *S-----n M-----r* was not only the first Person address'd to in public, but heard in private: To him the Closet-Doors were always open: His Audiences were as frequent, and as long as he pleas'd to make them: And the Patience of all the other foreign *M-----rs* was worn out, in waiting till he was dispatch'd: Nay, for a considerable Time, none were admitted, except *he* was present; and to such a Length was this unaccountable Distinction carry'd, That even when the *A-----n M-----r* had Complaints to prefer against the *S-----n C-----t*, and the *C-----r d'O-----o*, was himself concern'd in the Cause, his *G-----ce* was not at Leisure to hear them, till the Accuser and the Accus'd could be brought Face to Face; whereas the Latter had Access at all Hours, and with all the Familiarities of a bosom-Favourite, could propogate any Tale, enforce any Point, or concert any Measure; as if both had but one Interest, and were oblig'd to co-operate in the same Service.

Thus,

Thus, in measuring over the same Ground we measur'd before, (for the Negociation at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, is the next Point that lies before us) we find as many Proofs of the Incapacity of the B---rs, as of their Iniquity : What would then be the Case, if we were to unravel their Management in Money-Affairs, and all the Interior of their Ad----n ? ----But in a Deduction of so complex a Nature, I should get the better of your Patience, as well as my own : And, therefore, I shall proceed no farther, at present, than to observe, first, That even They themselves have all along betray'd an uniform Consciousness of their own Insufficiency ; by throwing every Man of Genius out of their Connection. For tho' They have been forc'd to take some such into Employment, they could never be prevail'd upon to take them into the Secret of Affairs ; or to suffer them to exert those *Talents*, which they know would eclipse their own.

Thus, when caught in the Toils which They had set for L—— G——, They were forc'd, for their own Preservation Sake, to take in the *Broad-Bottoms*. What Use did they make of the splendid Abilities of L---- C-----, and the other distinguish'd Leaders of that Party ? Why, Those who were the most practis'd in Business, who stood highest in the public Esteem, and who were the best qualify'd for the public Service, they consider'd only as so many Persons to be *removed out of the Way* : And those whom they did think fit to associate in Power with themselves, were Those, whose Experience, Incapacity, or known Prostitution, render'd them the most proper to be made Tools of : Whence it gradually follow'd, That the Former growing equally asham'd of their own Insigni-

significancy, and the pernicious Measures they were expected to countenance, quitted the Service.

And, Secondly, That, instead of making good their own Boasts, to submit their Conduct to any legal Enquiry, and to furnish all the Matter that should be call'd for, as necessary thereto, the *Brotherhood*, and their Co-adjutors, in Contempt of all Arguments within Doors, and all Censures without, have over-rul'd every Motion of that kind which has been made, have suffer'd no one Paper to be produc'd, which had the least Tendency to explain the Measures which have been so loudly complain'd of; and, thereby, have, in Effect, acknowledg'd, That more has not been laid to their Charge, than those Papers would have verified.

Lastly: That you may lye under no Temptation, to conclude, notwithstanding all I have advanc'd, That because They *ruin'd the War*, which was the great *End* they aim'd at, they are *able*, tho' wicked, M-----rs; consider with yourself, That to undo is of all Tasks the easiest: And that he is the worst of Miners, who blows himself up with his own Train.

It is no new Thing for an ignorant Pilot to split his Vessel on a Rock, where he expected to find a Harbour.

The Spirit which they have conjur'd up to answer their purposes abroad, They are now grievously sensible, must have Employment at Home; And, instead of any longer obeying their Commands, is in a fair Way to obtain the Mastery over them. Amongst those whom they took into Power, as well as Place, he hath found *Undertakers* as enterprizing and desperate as himself; who have already attempted to wrest the *Lead* out of their
their

their Hands; and have so far succeeded in it, as to force them into a *Measure*, which they *profess* to disapprove. So that the very Persons, who, for the Sake of Power, had the Insolence to prescribe to the ----- upon his T —, have also had the Meanness, for the same Consideration, to hold up the Train of a Faction, whose Aim they knew was to supplant them.

Thus, after all their Triumphs, we find these doughty Statesmen almost in the Condition of *Acuteon*, when worried by his own Dogs: And at the long Run, if they should happen to recover their Superiority, on what wretched Terms, and how precariously must they hold it? If the *Measure* just alluded to is carried in its *full Extent*, the Merit will be ascrib'd to those who projected it: If not, They, the B — rs, will be made answerable for the Defeat.--- On the H-----r Ap-----t, They have heap'd Indignities upon Indignities, which how patiently soever he hath borne, it can scarce be expected he should forgive: Already, They shrink under the Efforts of a *Minority*, compos'd of Gentlemen unpractis'd in Business, and who became Volunteers in the Cause of *Liberty*, when it seem'd to be abandon'd by *All* besides: And when it shall be notorious, That they have ruin'd the *Nation*, as well as the *War*, how shall they avoid being ruin'd *Themselves*?

It is affirmed of *Catherine de Medicis*, Queen-Regent of *France*, that she caus'd a Portraiture to be drawn of herself, in the Action of making an Offering to the *Devil* of her Three Sons, which was explain'd by a Scroll containing these Words, * *Soit pourveu que Je regne*: And if we cannot re-

* In English, *Provided I reign.*

fleet on such a Royal Fury as this, without Horror, what must our Reflections be, when we think of the Sacrifice of Three Kingdoms, that the Ambition of the *Brotherhood* might have its full Swing?

But to conclude.---If it should so happen, that by the Force of *Connection*, (that new Principle of Power, which has of late proved so fatal to the Constitution) they should still be able to maintain their Ground against the united Resentments of P—— and People, we, nevertheless, ought not to ascribe to their Strength that Success, which is merely the Result of our own Weakness.

As *Shakespear* makes his *Cassius* say of *Cæsar*,
 ----- *He would not be a Wolf, But that he sees
 the Romans are but Sheep.* So it may be said of
 us, *If the English had not been Geese,* the -----s,
would not have been Foxes: And, indeed, that God,
 for our Sins, hath given us into the Hands of such
 despicable *Executioners*, is one of the most mortifying
 Parts of our *Punishment*,

I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

* * * * *

